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INFORMATION
November 13, 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT 

Secretary Kissinger has reported that he has agreed with the Chinese on the text of a joint communique. He points out that the basic concept of the new communique is to take the Shanghai communique and broaden its implications. The major changes from the Shanghai communique are as follows:

- The refraining from hegemony by the U. S. and China and the opposition to hegemony by any others is expanded beyond the Asia-Pacific region to "any other part of the world."
- Consultations between the U. S. and the PRC are broadened.
- The Chinese have made a major concession on normalization of relations by requiring only the "principle" of one China, i. e. as opposed to requiring the practice. This is the most significant development of this visit which I will explain more fully upon my return, but it is absolutely essential that it not be stressed for now.
- In every concrete area there is an extension of existing practices, i. e. in the functions of the liaison offices, exchanges, and trade. On the latter, we have in effect settled the claims/blocked assets issues but there is still some legal mopping up to do and we have left this for later.

The text of the joint communique is as follows:

Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, U. S. Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, visited the People's Republic of China from November 10 to November 14, 1973. He was accompanied by Robert Ingersoll, Robert McCloskey, Arthur Hummel, Winston Lord, Oscar Armstrong, Jonathan Howe and Richard Solomon.

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Chairman Mao Tse-Tung received Secretary Kissinger. They held a wide-ranging and far-sighted conversation in a friendly atmosphere. Secretary Kissinger conveyed greetings from President Nixon, and Chairman Mao Tse-Tung sent his greetings to the President.

Secretary Kissinger and members of his party held frank and serious talks with Premier Chou En-Lai, Foreign Minister Chi Peng-Fei, Vice Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-Hua, Assistant Foreign Minister Wang Hai-Jung, Director Lin Ping, Director Peng-Hua, Tsien Ta-Yung, Ting Yuan-Hung and others.

Officials of the two sides conducted counterpart talks on bilateral issues of mutual concern and made good progress.

The two sides reviewed international developments since Dr. Kissinger's visit to the People's Republic of China in February, 1973. They noted that international relationships are in a period of intense change. They reaffirmed that they are committed to the principles established in the Shanghai communique and that disputes between states should be settled without resorting to the use or threat of force, on the basis of the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. In particular, they reiterated that neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region or any other part of the world and that each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony.

The two sides agreed that in present circumstances it is of particular importance to maintain frequent contact at authoritative levels in order to exchange views and, while not negotiating on behalf of third parties, to engage in concrete consultations on issues of mutual concern.

Both sides reviewed progress made during 1973 in their bilateral relations. The U.S. side reaffirmed: The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China; the United States Government does not challenge that position. The Chinese side reiterated that the normalization of relations between China and the United States can be realized only on the basis of confirming the principle of one China.

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Both sides noted with satisfaction that the liaison offices in Peking and Washington are functioning smoothly. Both sides agreed that the scope of the functions of the liaison offices should continue to be expanded.

Exchanges have deepened understanding and friendship between the two peoples. The two sides studied the question of enlarging the exchanges between the two countries and agreed upon a number of new exchanges for the coming year.

Trade between the two countries has developed rapidly during the past year. The two sides held that it is in the interest of both countries to take measures to create conditions for further development of trade on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

The two sides stated that they would continue their efforts to promote the normalization of relations between China and the United States on the basis of the Shanghai communique.

Secretary Kissinger and his party expressed their gratitude for the warm hospitality extended to them by the Government of the People's Republic of China.

November 14, 1973

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